/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
• [797] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
[668] this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 54[illegible] Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestiços among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type: among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[36] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
[178] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[36] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[162] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[166] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[433] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the former, in large [illegible] from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/18 cont./

000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
• [177] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive
[179] conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupation of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into
[166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the
[177] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

179 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

/70 cont./ This is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine Word/, who worked among the Mbüá and other Paraguayan Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller, 1919.

Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová, among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has already observed that the reborn is called "Tudjá," old one. At Araribá the ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on. Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a reborn

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577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend -- except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prize or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or anguëry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

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771 775 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earthly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

771 177 •997 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable, that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

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manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils. Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guaranî religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the [775] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned -- [184] according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guaranî religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Ñandéva of Jacareî), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaranî hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his liberty, which he prizes above all (2).

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2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Müller, who worked among the Guaranî of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life; it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

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to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us.' -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echo: 'Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us; this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good.'" Müller, 1919.

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Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism: the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omniscient, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

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771 182 797 177 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day differ radically from each other. In the former case there really was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic whole through the encounter of points of contact (ethos of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the Beyond), while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without their religious significance being apprehended at the same time, for which reason different functions fell to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

771 184 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual, is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village, from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the elements would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup, this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seems to be two causes for this:

771 781 184 First, the individual, or better, individualistic character of the Guaraní religion. Outstanding though the social importance of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious significance of the principal manifestations of the community existence may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving consolation, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or the protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and mystical inclinations of his personality.

2: Schaden--143 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paĩ Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukútýtétã, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukútýtétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paĩ Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjuvant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

794 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareĩ, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanénẽ (gué), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

794 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
794 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
• 797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

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774 that passions be overcome by prayer and by the practice of the
177 virtues, might easily lead the Indian to personify the two forces
• 797 or tendencies, taking them as entities, in analogy, by the way,
to the way in which the personification of the different forces
of nature is the cause of the plurality of the gods in the tribal
774 theogony of these and other Indians. In the psychological con-
ception of the Ñandéva one is dealing in the final analysis with
the struggle between good and evil, transferred into the
psychic life of each man: one good soul, of divine origin, which
after death goes to heaven /Port. céu/, and another one, which
will become bad or dangerous, all the worse and more danger-
ous the more the individual has let himself be led by his anti-
social inclinations during his life. This in spite of the contra-
diction with ideas presented pages ago.

774 The fact that some Ñandéva talk about three souls instead
822 of two seems not to have much importance. It is because the
souls are visible in the form of shadows, ñanê Ĩ, our shadow,
of three different sizes. One falls in front or behind, one to
the right, the other to the left. The one that falls in front or
behind (ayvú-kuê-porĩvê) is the one that after death goes to
heaven properly speaking (yvý), located above the yvýñomimbyré
(or mythical paradise); the one on the left remains wandering
over the ground, goes to live in the cemetery, is "bad" and is
called anguéry (in life, atsýyguá); the one on the right remains
wandering about in the air, "is better and does not do harm to
anyone" (ñanderú Sebastião), it is called avyú(kuê) /sic/ (7).

7. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Poýdjú explained to me that the soul-shadow on the right is called okáña Ĩ vaé, being a bearer of illness to anyone who meets it after the death of the individual. Afterwards Sebastião contradicted him energetically, saying that "this being is produced right here on earth; it is not the soul of a person, it is the saci /see p. 201 f./." Poýdjú accepted the rectification.

2: Schaden--173 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/132 cont./

761 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the
756 other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, consequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable, let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, probable that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause and effect is established in the mind of the Guaraní.

761 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into
828 the world because the ancestors became guilty for one reason or another. It is tied to the very nature of human existence, to the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to constitute a problem for the /133/ intelligence of the Guaraní. The mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is repeated as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and which, like everything else that develops in chain fashion, is "explained" by means of the determination of the point of departure. "Nanderú omanõ (God is the one who gave the origin)," that is, his death is the origin of our death. Paí Chiquinho, the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayová village of Panambi, assured me, "Nanderú kaffinguéra ombó ypý," "the destruction of God is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. God arose for the purpose of dying. -- Great perspicacity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there
[177] [797] is something of the teachings given by the Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has become pagan: it has undergone a reinterpretation, in order to be adapted to the Guaraní conception of the world.

The Guaraní has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the roots of which are in the mysticism of the tribal religion. On the one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear of death, responsible, among other things, for the existence of special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

2: Schaden--181 E-4,5 (194?-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/138 cont./

5. The direction of the religious acculturation

771 177 There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guaraní acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of caboclos or caiçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

771 177 178 184 It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Ñandéva and Mbyá groups of the Paulist coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Ñandéva of Bananal and of Rariri, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

771 177 178 /139/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guaraní, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indiscreet visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Ñandéva responds promptly: "All the Guaraní are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices which he neither understands nor wants to understand. The Capuchin mission that existed in the large settlement of Itaporanga in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

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Nowadays the Council rarely comes in contact with Catholic priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the conversion the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, decide their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the *sanguané*, or *mabouadi*, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the *Banbuch*, "evil then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old *Pajéjé* of Anadisi. At the Pêche at Anadisi I have not met one child that had not gone through the *sanguané* and then, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized in the Catholic church. In *Pajéjé*'s opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Council as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized men" that they do not work on Sundays and yearly on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Anadisi it even happens that women rise and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

The acceptance of the Catholic Baptism, common among the Banabire, as well as among the Ishbi of the Rosaire, also goes along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen, who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child. At Dadzi I have several Banabire who had been baptized repeatedly: Constantin, daughter of Capitão Silvino Indio, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in the Preto, another time in Sumé, and another time in São Vicente.

It is clear that the religious reverberation is more rapid and more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who marries an Indian woman, particularly the caipora, not only usually demands /137/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm machines, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or *xikrakrá*, and the rhythm sticks, or *takuápu*, used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the *xikrakrá*, while the women accompany them with the *takuapú*. In only one village, in Rantel, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a *nhéé Ñanderú* who replaced the gourd *xikrakrá* (or also *xikrakrá ñ*) with a guitar of industrial origin (*reyrú xikrakrá* or simply *xikrakrá*), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The *Ñanderú xikrakrá* is only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maracá by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and further west (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 180 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1910, pp. 184 to 185, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1930a, pp. 215-216.

As an instrument characteristic of the *nhéé*, the *xikrakrá*, a cornet-horn that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of lion, cactus membrane; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The hard cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Paraguayan and

Bibliothèque--SOR B-4,5 (1940-1954) 1951 Ethn Guarani Ethn

/181 cont./

"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní result, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. For there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /Page p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /181/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

Tr Schaden--207 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S144 Guaraní S144

/183 cont./ Under the
direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso. In order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Nandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbyá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

2: Schaden--208 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh4 Guarani Sh4

/162 cont./
in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbyá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

3. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1946, p. 34.

If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /163/ by Nimuendajú, that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a reinterpretation of the Apocalypse of São João /St. John/ (4).

4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in History that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and materialistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not as great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote romance rather than history, it is not possible to deny it altogether, as others assert." A. Piccarolo, 1939, p. 37.

then we must admit that poorly understood Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is customarily attributed to it.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which [182] the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land 772 never ending": ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [176] Ketxuña or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Kuaí Rõhẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuña. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [197] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves 181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres- [184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

2: Schaden--227 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

273 828 /footnote 10 cont./

wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184] [648] [797]

Among the Nandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

[529] [855]

273 182 177

There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

2: Schaden-- 232 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/182 cont./

177 religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of
18 his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and
596 attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption,
[594] yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

77 It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differ-
18 ences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the
177 maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

77 As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit
18 missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the
177 Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology
• 797 (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of support in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Nandedjára rembiguái, ancillary spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 19-2 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

lands of the state of Paraná, where they are safer. With them live a small number of Guaranya.[17]

There is at present, and probably has been for a long time, some interchange of population between the Brazilian and Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distance, but especially among those living near the frontier. A reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá in 1943 would be something between 2,000 and 4,000. Even less is apparently known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá.

WHO ARE THE CAYUÁ?

Etymologically, it is said that the name "Cayuá" is related to two Guarani stems meaning "forest" (*ka'á*) and "man" or "men" (*aBá*), that is, "men of the forest."[18] If this is the case, the name suits them very well indeed. As far as forest dwellers are concerned, however, the name would not by any means be unsuited to many other Tupi-Guarani peoples as well. As applied specifically to the Cayuá, the name might have grown out of the practice on the part of the Europeans, during Conquest and mission times, to distinguish the "reduced Guarani" (broadly speaking) from those who were not "reduced." The "reduced" Guarani-speaking peoples, who lived in *reducciones*, were in fairly close contact with the Europeans. They had early been brought to some sort of terms with the whites, either of peonage (in the *encomienda*) or of religious proselytism, in the latter case largely through the efforts of the Franciscans and Jesuits. The "non-reduced" speakers of Guarani, on the other hand, had no fixed relationship with the Europeans other than, for the most part, avoidance. They lived in the less accessible forests, originally because these had been their home; subsequently they also sought out remote forests in order to avoid the Europeans. Hence, using a word in one of the native Guarani languages, the invaders might well have called them "Cayuá" or "men of the forests."[19] This distinction, from which their present name allegedly derives, is particularly significant in considering the acculturation of the Cayuá.

Culturally, the Cayuá shared a great deal with their Tupi-Guarani linguistic relatives. This similarity was generally recognized to such an extent, concerning the people closest to them, the so-called "Guarani" of Paraguay

[17] *Exposição sobre o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, 1913. Information kindly provided by Dr. Herbert Baldus, São Paulo, by letter.

[18] Watson, J. B., 1945, p. 3, fn.; p. 10, fn. 11.

[19] In the English translation of Dobrizhoffer, 1822, the original Latin expression which the author uses to refer to the non-reduced speakers of Guarani is translated as "woods Indians." Dobrizhoffer dwells considerably upon the point of the close attachment of the Guarani peoples of the Paraguay region to their forest habitat in contrast both to the open-country dwelling Abipones and other equestrian Indians, and to the reduced Guarani. The latter the Jesuits apparently always sought to bring, at the cost of some perseverance, to missions established in open places.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[80] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[81]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[82]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[83] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[84] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *saraka*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[80] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [81] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[82] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[83] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [84] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *pa'i* was often a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance —which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*pa'i*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

WARFARE

There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eluders[71]—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusilanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupi-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupi groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is lacking.

By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

[71] This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[73] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapúi* to lurking raiders.[74] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gês-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[75] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[76]

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[73] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [74] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[75] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiso adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brasil. [76] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *paʾi*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *paʾi*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *paʾi* was judged and rated as a *paʾi guasú* ("great shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *paʾi* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could often seriously oppose the word of a *paʾi guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[40] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *paʾi* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *paʾi* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *paʾi* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *paʾi* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *paʾi* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *paʾi* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

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[40] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Apparently the *pa'i* were closely bound up with the revivalistic tendencies of various Tupi-Guarani cultures, and especially with their messianic aspects. The movements noted among the Tupinambá are similar in many ways to those subsequently denoted "revivalistic movements" in North America; and the coastal Tupi impulses were even more like the later movements among the southern Tupi-Guarani. It is not known whether any such movements occurred in history of the Cayuá prior to the 19th century. In the Jesuit accounts there are hints of what may have been incipient phases of such movements among the Guarani, but presumably the drastic repressive action of the priests scotched them before they had a chance to spread far. Powerful shamans and their predictions (and maledictions against the Catholics) appear always to have been central in these affairs. The close similarity of the 19th century movements of the Cayuá and the Apapocuva-Guarani to those of other Tupi-Guarani, even though remote in space or time, probably justifies us in treating the matter as evidence of a more or less constant potential of these related cultures. Properly stimulated, this potential produced surprisingly like results in various places and at various times. At base, the movements seemed to depend upon the prophetic statements of powerful shamans: in view of impending great changes in their present situation, a new mode of behavior was in order, a change of their way of life (though the change might be backward-looking), to prepare themselves for the great day. Thus occurred in the histories of a number of these peoples large-scale migrations in search of "the land of no evil." Little as is known of them, the Cayuá movements are generally similar to the somewhat better documented impulses of other groups. It is possible that the Cayuá, because of their belated direct contact with Europeans and their longer avoidance of such contacts, had less reason for the development of messianic cults.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*774 *175 648 Cayuá of that day may have been, what they received of European influence was for the most part received through other native peoples who became earlier Europeanized.

The acculturation of other native peoples as a result of the European advent ultimately came to have a very marked effect upon the Cayuá. One instance was the adoption of the horse and its use to implement and broaden the scope of warlike activities of Guaicuruan-speaking peoples, particularly the Mbayá-Caduveo. When these latter crossed the Paraguay in the latter half of the 17th century and carried their raids into Mato Grosso, they must have upset the previous balance of power of native groups, and the Cayuá were certainly among those affected. Possibly they were obliged to constrict territorially and to modify their activities in other ways. For many, if not all, Cayuá this menace became a part of their situation long before they were actually obliged to face the Europeans in large numbers. The Mbayá are said to have made vassals of certain peoples, such as the southern Arawak Guaná, but their principal effect on the Cayuá was that of inspiring terror, constantly threatening attack, and the killing or capturing of prisoners for slaves.

[726]

THE PERIOD OF JESUIT MISSIONIZATION, 1610 TO 1768

*175 • 797 The effect of the Jesuit missionaries on the Guarani during over 150 years was, of course, considerably more conscious and organized than anything that had preceded it.[84] It involved more concern with what the priests thought was "good" for the Indians than did the policies of the lay Spanish. To the latter it often did not matter what the natives might believe or do as long as the labors desired of them were discharged. It is often overlooked, however, that other Roman Catholic missionaries were in the Paraguayan area previous to the Company of Jesus. The Franciscans were there before and after the *174 Jesuit period, and stayed throughout, working with Indians all the while.[85]

*175 648 797 Besides the resistance of the Indians themselves, the Jesuits were confronted with two other opponents, the lay Spanish in Paraguay, with headquarters at Asunción, and the marauding slavers known as *mamelucos* or *paulistas*. These "Portuguese" had their primary base of operations at São

*[174] (131) [648] Still another point favoring Cayuá seclusion from Europeans was the doubtful status of the frontier between Spanish and Portuguese domains in the general Cayuá region. The frontier remained undecided actually until the Paraguayan War, 1865–1870.

[84] The number of years credited to the Jesuits for their activity in the Paraguayan region more than does them justice since the conventional beginning date, 1610, is counted from the very inception. It was not until some time afterward that the full development of missions usually emphasized came about.

[85] The facts of Franciscan missionary activity in Paraguay seem to have suffered unjustly in the light of all the attention thrown upon the Jesuit controversy and also, perhaps, because the Franciscans wrote less about their work. The impressive propagandist efforts of the Jesuits seem as much as anything responsible for the extensive literature regarding their Paraguayan enterprise.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.[46]

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

[46] Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a *viola d'amor*, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success. New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *maíz*, hides, and agricultural crops were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes. The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapéi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Yet the Jesuit fear of the Indian longing for his native state was certainly not groundless. Not only did considerable numbers of free Indians still live in the neighborhood of some of the largest and best known missions, but also now and then, individually or by families and groups, proselytes slipped away, back to their forests. In other words, during practically the entire Jesuit mission period there was apparently a fairly constant intercourse between the people of the missions and the people of the Guarani forests. This contact is of importance in considering mission effect on the non-missionized peoples.

The influence of the missionized upon the woods Indians was even stronger after the breakup of the mission organization. The dissolution actually began with the abandonment of all the missions to the east of the Rio Uruguay, imposed upon the order by the Treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal; it ended finally with the decree for the complete withdrawal of the Jesuits from Spanish America in 1767. Many of the missionized, and hence acculturated, Guarani were soon thereafter practically free to pursue their traditional ways—as much as they still knew how or found it convenient to do so. This release of the missionized Indians could hardly fail to be a great source of diffusion of European traits, inculcated in them by their Catholic masters, to the less acculturated Cayuá.[87]

What specific Jesuit traits implanted in their Indian wards may have been diffused to the forest people during and following the mission period? A careful examination of mission policy and practice gives us one side of the case.[88] In Cayuá culture today, however, the task of identifying certain acculturational features as clearly of Jesuit origin and others as of different European provenience would in most instances be fruitless. There is not much literature about the Cayuá following the break-up of Jesuit mission rule to guide us.[89] Rengger gives only a few meager clues such as to indicate that Cayuá use of crosses (and possibly some attendant religious ideas) may be of Jesuit origin. By implication no appreciable mission influence on agriculture was then to be noted—at least not among the Cayuá Rengger visited. He does not mention in this connection whether men or women were pri-

[87] It is partly for this latter reason, in the opinion of the writer, that ideas as to the present-day cultural distinctions among Guarani-speakers are so confused and conflicting in this region. Whatever the pre-existing differences among them, or whatever the differences created by the missionization of only a part of them—perhaps certain whole tribal or local groups, perhaps only some members of each of a number of such groups—aboriginal tribal and political distinctions were doubtless blurred and partly erased by the mission exodus. The criteria Müller (1934-35, *passim*) uses to distinguish the three locally recognized Guarani-speaking groups of the present East Paraguayan area may reflect primarily the degree of acculturation of these groups.

[88] Cf. Watson, J. B., *The Cayuá*.

[89] Significantly enough, there is without doubt no period prior or subsequent to that of the Jesuits which can compare in number of documentary sources regarding the indigenes of the region.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

marily the cultivators, although presumably the Jesuits had tended to change the aboriginal roles of the sexes in the agriculture of the missions.[30] Little more can be said at this time as to the nature of Jesuit influences.

DECAY OF THE MISSIONS AND FRONTIER DISTURBANCES, 1768 TO *CA.* 1832

The post-Jesuit period was marked by many disturbances and difficulties in the region of the missions. These doubtless also had their repercussions in the affairs of the Cayuá. The confusions and abuses occasioned by the change from Jesuit administration to a new one, or rather to the growing lack of any administration at all, were aggravated by the conflicts involved in the separation of Spain's Platine provinces from the mother country. Strife among the various former Spanish colonies finally resulted in the political forerunners of present Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Portugal (that is, through Brazil) became embroiled in a struggle for possession of the lands of modern Uruguay. These political changes often were accompanied by military operations, and at least several armed engagements took place.

The reverberations of European colonial politics directly affected the fortunes of the Indians, though largely only those remaining in or near the missions. They were sometimes involved as troops on one side or the other, and their mission towns were sacked, besieged, used for barracks, or destroyed. The missions were also generally neglected, or the interests of the Indians were frankly controverted in spite of the avowed mission policy, the "Plan of Bucarelli."[31] Concern for the welfare of the missionized as distinct from the unmissionized indigenes diminished. The physical decay and destruction of the mission towns themselves was closely followed by the dissolution of the unusual social order instituted by the Jesuits.

During the post-Jesuit period the extraction of *maté* provided a continuing means for contact between Indians and Paraguayans. Such exploitation of the forest resources of the area had been going on since pre-Jesuit times. There had early grown up some commerce in the teastuff, both within the Platine colony itself and with Peru. Since the beginning of large-scale use of *maté* for beverage purposes, it was natural that this forest industry should often bring the *yerbateros*, or *yerba* (*maté*) workers, into brief but recurring contact with the forest peoples. Getting out the *maté* leaves in large quantities involved going into the forests, and preferably forests which had not already been cut over. Furthermore, some of the best *maté* groves seem then to have been, as they are at present, rather closely coincident with the territory occupied by the "woods Indians" or Cayuá. Azara[32] and Rengger,[33] both writing during the period in question, not only indicate *yerbatero* contact with woods Indians, but Rengger, at least, also gives some idea of its nature. He mentions

[30] Rengger, 1835, pp. 115–116.
[31] Azara, 1904, pp. 407–408.
[32] Cf. Hernández, 1913.
[33] Rengger, 1835, p. 111 and p. 131.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*175 The SPI was founded in 1910, and among the first regional *inspetorias*
648 to be formed was that of southern Mato Grosso, with present seat in Campo
657 Grande. Under the administration of this local office came the "Caiuás" who were calculated to be "the most numerous tribe of the south of the state" (Mato Grosso). In other words, while the founding of the SPI did not immediately affect the affairs of the vast majority of Brazilian tribes—and still today scarcely affects some groups—the Cayuá were at the other end of the scale, being among the first to be singled out by the Indian Service.

Founded at the instigation of Brazil's famous explorer, Indianist, and modern frontiersman, General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the *Serviço* reflected Rondon's concern for the Indians. They should receive some definition and guarantee of their rights, protection from frontier abuses, and guidance particularly of a non-clerical and non-sectarian sort, in the problems
• [797] of adjustment to the new conditions facing them. It was common practice merely to sign over the souls of all the native inhabitants of this or that vast tract of Brazilian territory to some Roman Catholic order. The biased assumption was often made that in this way all was therefore arranged for the best of the respective Indians.[10] Rondon had seen at first hand many tribes in their natural setting and he was well aware of the abuses, secular and clerical, from which they suffered.

Specifically the plan of the SPI was to organize regional *inspetorias* and local posts, as many as were needed, and, where possible, new ones as soon as they were needed owing to a recent advance of the frontier. As soon as land became a question, the Indian territories were to be duly defined and registered. Complaints by Indians of land or other transgressions of Brazilians were to be lodged with the *encarregado* of their local post, and this officer was in all matters to serve as intermediary between whites and Indians. The *Serviço* would also play a positive rule in urging the Indians to adopt measures
[871] which seemed to their best interests. Schools for Indians were to be established wherever feasible.

648 For many reasons, not our direct concern here, the effect of the *Serviço*
871 has not always been exactly what it was designed to be. Among the Cayuá,
657 the schools affect only a very limited number of children—even of those who happen to live in the local group where a post is located. There are no dormitory or transportation facilities provided—the very idea would be ridiculous and unheard of in the present context. Practically nobody outside the immediate area of the post is therefore affected by the school. Schooling is at the hands of the wife of the *encarregado* in at least two of the three posts of the Cayuá, and neither of these women in 1943 had even as much as a complete grade school education. Nor did either have any special conception of what kind of teaching Cayuá, as distinct from Brazilian, children might put to advantage. The children are taught allegiance, the national anthem, and national lore, and some of the children's lore with which Brazilians in general

[10] Such vast territories are, however, assigned to Roman Catholic orders still today.

3:Watson E-4.5 [1943] 1952 Ehrd Guarani Ehrd

or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the mere indifference might learn from the settler for whom they work. The encomienda is among none of the Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences he may exert are, therefore, much intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is neutral. They do not, [illegible] translate the Indians as a part of the policy of the *Service*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Service* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[1] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Service* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, Dalile, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-started establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphanage and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the missions.)

No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at Dalile. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At Dalile the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guaraní (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[1] For are they blindly disposed to grant the ethnographer with open arms; some very successful individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

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somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[16] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere.

The *Inspetoria de* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut cart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[17]

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[17] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[18] Such visits entail

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[16] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guaraní words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guaraní words—as spiritual interest.

[17] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Alto Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fueling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns.

[18] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in their ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at Utiko itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling.

[19] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

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101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of
241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today,
361 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations
657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios /Service of Protection for
101 the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-
•799 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil
361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not
[162] know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

/31 cont./
175 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
•797 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
361 Indians (2).
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2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113]

3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom: they
178 have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Guaraní, who gathered at Tapuá. Two thousand *Guaraní* accompanied Domingo de Irala in 1548 and even more followed Nufrio de Chaves in 1558. 175 648

The *Guaraní* later resisted the ruthless exploitation of which they were victims (for example, the revolts of Taharé and Guaramberé), but they lacked the determination and unity shown by other tribes so that their revolts were easily crushed. Later *Guaraní* rebellions were often led by native messiahs, the most famous of whom was Obera (end of the 16th century), who promised the Indians supernatural support and convinced them that the happiness of native times would be restored after the final expulsion of the White men. [669]

From the outset, the conquistadors, like the European colonists on the coast of Brazil, were strongly attracted by the beauty of the *Guaraní* women—who readily yielded to their solicitations—and took native wives or mistresses. As some of these were daughters and sisters of local chiefs, the alliances proved useful to the Spaniards, for the Indians felt obliged to support and serve their new relatives. The Spaniards lived scattered in small ranches around Asunción, surrounded by harems (some with 20 to 30 women), and by their wives' relatives.

The young colony came to consist of a rapidly growing Mestizo population, without which it would have been abandoned soon after the Conquest of Perú. The system of encomiendas, introduced in the middle of the 16th century, had the usual dire effects on the native population. Forced to work for their masters and often ill-treated, the Indians died by the thousands. At the end of the 16th century, there remained within a radius of 21 miles (7 leagues) around Asunción, only 3,000 Indians. The region of Tapuá, north of Asunción, which had been covered with ranches, was practically abandoned. The disappearance of the natives, however, was compensated by the constant increase of the Mestizos, or "mancebos de la tierra," whose lawlessness is often stressed by Spanish chroniclers. These descendants of early Spaniards and *Guaraní* form the main element in the million or so people of modern Paraguay, so that their language is still spoken in rural Paraguay, in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and in the State of Corrientes. Even in cities, such as Asunción, part of the population still uses the language of their *Guaraní* ancestors.

The missions.—Unlike the *Guaraní* under the Spanish encomiendas, that portion of the tribe which occupied the upper Paraná River and the Uruguay River basin was subject to Jesuit missions for about two centuries (1608–1767). Their post-Conquest history, therefore, is identical with that of the missions. The first Jesuits (Juan Solano, Manuel de Ortega, and Tomas Filds) arrived in Asunción in 1588. Two of these fathers went to the region of El Guairá, a territory defined on the west by the Paraná River, on the north by the Tieté River, on the south by the Iguassú 175 648 797

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River, and in the east by a vague line drawn by the treaty of Tordesillas. Here, the Spaniards had founded two cities, Ciudad real del Guairá (1554) and Villarica. The two Jesuits visited numerous Indian villages, baptizing children and moribunds, but they did not establish any permanent mission. In 1609, the King of Spain, at the request of Hernandarias de Saavedra, Governor of Paraguay, granted the Jesuits permission to conquer the 150,000 *Guaraní* Indians of El Guairá, by "means of doctrines and by the preaching of the Gospel."

The first Jesuit mission in Paraguay was San Ignacio Guazú, founded north of the Paraná River, but the first establishments of El Guairá (Nuestra Señora de Loreto and San Ignacio-miri on the Pirapo River), which were to become so prosperous, were created in 1610 by Fathers José Cataldino and Simon Maceta. The apostle of the *Guairá* was the famous Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, founder of 11 missions between 1622 and 1629 and author of the great classic of *Guaraní* language, the "Arte, vocabulario, tesoro de la lengua Guaraní" (1876). In another book, "Conquista espiritual . . . del Paraguay" (1892), he reports his adventures and successes and the ruin of the missions. In 1630, the flourishing missions of El Guairá were destroyed by the raids of slave hunters from São Paulo, the dreaded mamelucos, who attacked the missions and captured all whom they did not slaughter. In a few years, they are said to have killed or enslaved 300,000 *Guaraní* Indians. From 1628 to 1630 they took 60,000 Indians from the Jesuit missions to São Paulo. In 1631 Ruiz de Montoya evacuated Loreto and San Ignacio, the two last missions to survive in El Guairá, and took the people in a heroic anabasis from El Guairá to the Paraná River. Twelve thousand Indians began this forced migration but only 4,000 survived its vicissitudes.

The northern territory of the *Guaraní*, between the Paraguay, Mbotetey (Miranda), and Jejui-guazú Rivers and the Sierra de Amambay, was called the Province of Itatin after one of its local *Guaraní* subtribes. The Jesuits founded four missions here in 1631, but in 1632 these were all destroyed by the mamelucos from São Paulo. Later, two new missions were founded in the same area.

The same year the Jesuits entered the mountainous region in the Brazilian State of Rio Grande do Sul, which forms the divide between the basins of the Uruguay and the Jacui Rivers. This was formerly called Tapé, but today only a branch of the mountain system is known as Sierra de los Tapes; the remainder is known as Sierra de San Martín and Cuchilla Grande. From 1632 to 1635, the Jesuits founded 10 "reducciones" here. The renewed assaults of the mamelucos in 1638 forced the Jesuits to evacuate the missions of Tapé, a region that was forever lost to Portugal. After these last inroads, the *Guaraní* Indians received guns and, on two occasions—at Caazapá-guazú and at Mbororé (1639 and 1640)—they defeated the mamelucos. From 1687 to 1707, eight new missions were

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founded which, together with the others, formed the 30 cities of the so-called "Paraguayan State of the Jesuits."

The Jesuit expansion was resisted by certain *Guaraní* shamans, chiefs, and especially messiahs, who seem to have been very numerous in this period of hardship and misery. Meanwhile, the Jesuits were persecuted by the encomenderos, who could not tolerate the loss of so many Indians to the missionaries. The southern missions of Yapeyú and La Cruz were often molested by the incursions of the *Yaró*, *Mbohane*, *Minuane*, and *Charrua* Indians. Several expeditions of *Guaraní* were led by Spanish officers against these wild tribes.

The first blow to the Jesuits was the treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal, by which Philip VI yielded to Portugal seven Jesuit missions on the eastern side of the Uruguay River (San Borja, San Nicolas, San Luís, San Lorenzo, Santo Angel, San Miguel, and San Juan) in exchange for the colony of Sacramento. The Indians refused to abandon their villages and resisted by arms the forced expulsion. Both Spain and Portugal had to send armies, which defeated the Indians in 1756. Three years later, the Tratado de Límites was abrogated and the seven towns were returned to the Jesuits, but in the meantime they had been partially destroyed and the Indian population, estimated at 30,000 a few years before, had considerably decreased.

The year 1767, when all Jesuits were expelled from South America, is a fateful date in the history of the South American Indians. The Indians who had been under Jesuit rule dwindled or disappeared altogether. Tribes left their missions to return to the bush; Indians in Jesuit colonies reverted to barbarism and regions previously explored again became geographical blanks on the map.

The new charter which Don Francisco de Paula Bucareli y Ursua drafted for the missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits differed from the previous system only in minor points. The so-called communistic feature of the Jesuit regime and the restrictions on commerce were maintained, but none of the more progressive aspects of the plan, such as the foundation of a University, were ever applied. Control of the missions was given to Franciscans, assisted by lay administrators. The results were baleful. The missions were invaded by colonists who robbed the Indians of their lands and destroyed the cattle and maté plantations. The fields were abandoned and the handicrafts forgotten through lack of teachers. The Indians were forced to work for the Whites and were victimized by the local authorities. Many continued to live on their plantations but others returned to the forests. Those who remained in the missions were completely demoralized by alcoholism and the bad example of the colonists. The wars of independence and the later national wars completed the decadence and the ruin of the missions. In 1801 the seven towns in Uruguay were given back to Portugal; in 1817 the

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dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

Farming.—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricultural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

Gathering wild foods.—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romansoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

Caingué do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

Household furniture.—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing.—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [784] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

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and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

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During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanygua*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

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This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

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6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women.

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable.

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations.

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set-

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca[a] wi[a].

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174 .797 elements. A preliminary perusal of the existing literature has produced nothing very definite as to whether or not the Cayuá may have come directly within the orbit of Jesuit influence. Von Koenigswald,[10] it is true, affirms that the Jesuits made several attempts to "civilize" the Cayuá, none of which was successful. No evidence to this effect has been encountered by the writer. Occasionally, in the documents of the Jesuits, one comes upon the mention of Cayuá or of groups which may have been Cayuá.[11]

We might expect contact of some sort to have been established between the missionaries and these Indians. Jesuit missions lay close to what must have been the east and northeast frontiers of the Cayuá territory of that day. More recent reports of the Cayuá, as we have seen, indicate that their 19th century movements, at least, took them well within what had been the Jesuit "sphere of influence."

[778] Indirect influence of the Jesuits upon the Cayuá may possibly be indicated in the possession by the latter of certain religious paraphernalia among which the cross figures prominently. A closer study of Cayuá religion and of Jesuit missions may turn up other more convincing evidence. But the cross or even such other evidence as may later turn up may not necessarily argue for immediate contact, either in time or space, between missionaries and Cayuá. Such elements of possible Jesuit origin could quite conceivably have been transferred to the Cayuá by other Indian groups, Guarani-speaking or not, who had come directly under the influence of the Jesuits. And this transmission of cultural elements could have occured at more or less the same period as that of the Jesuit missions or at some later time. It is also more than probable, even if the Cayuá came into contact with Jesuit missionaries, that only some groups were thus influenced.

10 *Op. cit.*

[114] 11 No doubt a great deal of difficulty arises from the variety of names attached to the tribes by different writers or with reference to different places, as well as from the fact that different peoples speaking Guaraní languages were often (as by the Brazilian layman today) lumped together as "Guaranís". Thus, possibly, Cayuá relations with the Jesuits may have been obscured by their having been called in various instances simply "Guaraní" or "Northern Guaraní". Gay (Cônego João Pedro, *História da República Jesuítica do Paraguay*, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1942) says in a footnote, p. 7 of the appendix, that the "Guaraní" are called in Paraguay by the 19 different names which he lists, as well as by many others. Among the listed names is Caiaguá (= Cayuá).

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire.

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174 affected, even after the mission empire was destroyed and the Indians
•797 fled from threatened destruction and enslavement at the hands of the Portuguese and Spanish settlers who finally eliminated the control and protection of the Jesuits over the Indians (1767).

Post-Jesuit Period

174 If for the time being we must remain in doubt as to how the
648 Cayuá may have been affected by agricultural (and other) elements of Jesuit origin, it is at least certain that, following the Jesuit expulsion, the Cayuá could have come under no other such consistent influence until very recently. White contact was no doubt increasing during this time, but it was not constant nor consistent.

241 In agricultural matters the Cayuá are reported to have been very
174 slightly developed as late as the end of the 19th century. Sampaio
648 has the following to say on this point: "In civilized life their aptitude for farming is very meagre. They seem to suffer from nostalgia, and the individuals of this tribe are not few who have returned to the primitive life of the nomad, which seems to them to be the only way of life for their people."[14] Sampaio, it should be noted, is speaking of the Cayuá from the valley of the Paranapanema, doubtless a region of rather more intensive and constant contact with the Brazilian settlers. Von Koenigswald emphasizes the same lack of development with regard to Cayuá agriculture. He mentions that an attempt, which met with little success, had been initiated some years before (1855) by the government of the State of Paraná to settle the Cayuá of that region and make them into agriculturists.[15]

Between the time when Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote and the present date, we cannot be very certain of what has happened. The author has been able to encounter in the literature almost no mention of the Brazilian Cayuá of this period. The great expansion of coffee economy in the state of São Paulo falls fairly well into the period, and for the states of Paraná and Mato Grosso the extractive industry of *herva mate* no doubt experienced a notable growth, precisely in those regions many of which had formerly been Cayuá domain.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
[15] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

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177 181 169 there two or three times with their children and wives, through here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and more throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these carios have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypití; and thus likewise carios villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

167 177 799 /304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

174 167 Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

[721] Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

8: Schmidt--22 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

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At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Laso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River. Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARANI 514

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to the divine law. Although the Americans are but slow of understanding, yet when the good sense of the teacher compensates for the stupidity of his pupils, they are successfully converted to civilization and piety, and even instructed in arts of all kinds. If you wish to see, with your own eyes, to what a degree instruction sharpens the wits of the Indians, and enlarges their comprehensions, go and visit the Guarany towns; in all of which you will find Indians well skilled in the making and handling of musical instruments, in painting, sculpture, cabinet-making, working metals of every kind, weaving, architecture, and writing; and some who can construct clocks, bells, gold clasps, &c. according to all the rules of art. Moreover, there were many who printed books, even of a large size, not only in their native tongue, but in the Latin language, with brass types, which they made themselves. They also write books with a pen so artfully, that the most discerning European would swear they were printed. The Bishops, Governours, and other visitants, were astonished at the workmanship of the Indians, which they saw or heard of in the Guarany towns. The Guaranies were instructed in music, and other arts, by the Jesuit Missionaries, Italians, Flemings, and Germans, who found the Indians docile beyond their expectation.

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1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1770) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARANI 814

A 756 could never bring myself to credit it, always remaining of opinion that they neither know, nor are capable of performing any thing above human powers. Being firmly persuaded that A 756 1797 they would do me all the evil in their power, I often accosted them in a friendly manner, and by all sorts of good offices endeavoured to prevail upon them to alter their manner of life, and embrace religion; for by their example almost all the rest would regulate their conduct. But this was like washing the blackamoor white: for these wickedest of mortals, unwilling to part with their authority and lucrative office, left no stone unturned, no frauds unattempted to deter and intimidate their countrymen from going to church, attending to the instructions of the priests, and receiving baptism, daily denouncing death, and destruction on the whole nation, unless they obeyed. Nor is this either new or surprizing. In all the American nations the teachers of the holy religion have found the jugglers upholders of ancient superstition, and rocks in the way of the desired progress of the Christian law. G Good heavens! what contests, and what trou- 756 ble did they not cause to Antonio Ruiz de Mon- toya, the famous Guarany missionary! It was 1797 not till he had repressed the authority of the remaining jugglers, and commanded the bones of

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

the dead ones, which were universally worshipped with great honours, to be burnt in the presence of the people, that he converted an infinite number of savages to the Christian religion, and induced them to enter colonies. Till these knavish *holophants*, and sycophants to speak with Plautus, are abolished, nothing can be done with the savages; this I affirm on experience. The town of St. Joachim not only merited the praise of religion, but produced many fruits of genuine piety. But as snakes often lurk in the grass, and tares in the most abundant harvest, an old Indian secretly performed the office of juggler there, and suffered himself to be adored as a divine person by some foolish women, whom he served in the double capacity of physician, and prophet, at the same time carrying on a criminal intercourse with them. These things were disclosed to me by Ignatius Paranderi, chief Cacique of the town; so that judging it advisable immediately to reprove this mischievous old man in public, since private admonitions were of no avail, I repaired to his house attended by all the chief people of the place; and imitating, in this important business, the thundering tongue of Cicero when he fulminated against Catiline, addressed him in the following manner. "How long, accursed old man, will you

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1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARANI

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something of more value. If we denied him what he asked, he would never visit us again; if we gave it, he was daily emboldened to ask things of still more value. Great is the misery of the scholar when masters are either scarce or too dear. I do not deny that, by daily conversation with the Indians, I learnt the names of those things which are present to the eyes; but *invisible things, which relate to God and* the soul, can only be learnt by conjecture and very long use. When horses, tigers, or arms, are talked of, you will find any of the Abipones a Demosthenes or a Tully: if the question turn on the affections and functions of the mind, and the practice of virtue, they will either give you answers darker than night, or remain silent.

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When we were studying the Guarany tongue, grammars and three dictionaries were published by Fathers Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, and Paulo Restivo, a Sicilian, which saved us a great deal of time and labour. By their assistance our progress was so much accelerated that, at the end of three months, we were permitted to confess the Guaranies by order of four of the older Jesuits, who, at the command of the superiors, closely examined our knowledge in the language. But as the assistance of books was wanting amongst the Abipones, Joseph Brigniel made up for the deficiency by

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1 Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1750) 1822
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A 756 747 A 123

stored him to health, and gained me the reputation of a physician amongst the Abipones. Nothing will procure you the good-will of the savages so soon as skill in the healing art. They think that he who understands the natures and remedies of diseases can be ignorant of nothing. They will believe him in matters of religion, and be tractable and obedient to him. Our Saviour himself inspired mortals with wonder, by healing bodies as well as souls. In imitation of him, when we were employed in the instruction of the savages, we endeavoured to supply the want of physicians, surgeons, and druggists, by easily obtained remedies, by reading medical books, and by other means, in order to wean that miserable people from their jugglers, whom we accounted the chief obstacles to the propagation of the holy religion.

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It is incredible how well the sick are taken care of in the Guarany towns. Indians are appointed to attend upon them, more or fewer, according to the number of inhabitants. These men have some knowledge of herbs and common remedies, though they are not allowed to use any medicine without consulting the missionary. They carry in their hands a staff marked with a cross, and are hence called cross-bearers. It is their business to go about dawn to visit the sick in the district appointed to

1:Dobrizhoffer bl-6 (ca. 1780) 1822

Guaaani SM4

each, and to enquire whether any one has fallen ill lately. In the evening they make their report to the missionary in the presence of all, before he performs divine service, and are informed by him what remedies are to be used and what sacraments administered to each. At mid-day boiled meat with the best wheat bread is sent from his kitchen to the houses of all the sick, which are sometimes thirty, more or less, in number. All the sick are visited once every day, and sometimes oftener, by the missionary, accompanied by two boys. In short we never suffered any thing of use to the minds or bodies of the sick to be wanting. Moreover there resided amongst the Guaranies two or three lay-brothers of our order, European surgeons, tolerably skilled in the art of medicine; but on account of the great distance of the towns from one another, they were not always at hand to offer their assistance when it was needed.

Upon us, therefore, whose proper business it was to attend upon the minds of the sick, devolved the care of healing their bodies. We always ascribed it to the mercy of God when trifling remedies banished great diseases, for we had but a very scanty store of drugs. How useful to the sick in various ways were sulphur, alum, salt, tobacco, sugar, pepper, the fat of hens, tigers, oxen, sheep, &c. and gun-powder! scarce

1:Debrisboffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814
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cessive days with mourning and drinking, and thence transported to their graves.

Should there be any European who makes little account of sepulture, saying with Virgil,

Cui tegitur qui non habet urnam,

that man is of a very different way of thinking from the Abipones, who esteem it the greatest misfortune to be left to rot in the open air. Hence amongst them, persons inflamed with the desire of revenge contemptuously cast away the carcasses of their enemies, making fifes and trumpets of their bones, and using their skulls for cups. On the other hand, they honourably inter the smallest bone of one of their friends, paying it every possible mark of respect. We have known savage Guaranies, who, in all their migrations, carried with them little boxes containing the relics of their jugglers, and in them, as in holy preservatives, placed all their hopes. These monuments of savage superstition were at length taken away by the missionaries, and burnt by them in the presence of all. The Guaranies newly brought from the woods to our colonies had no stronger inducement to embrace the Catholic religion than the seeing their countrymen buried by us with honourable ceremonies and a solemn chaunt. But now, after I have discoursed with prolixity on the diseases,

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.